

BANQUET

TO

HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, G.C.M.G., C.B.

ON HIS ELECTION FOR THE

COUNTY OF CAPE BRETON

FEBRUARY 6TH, 1896

The following is a verbatim report of Sir Charles Tupper's masterly speech at the banquet tendered him by the Liberal-Conservatives of Halifax on Thursday night :

Sir Charles Tupper, on rising, was received with prolonged cheers and applause. He said :

Mr. Stairs, and Gentlemen : I shall have to ask you to be extremely quiet while I address a few words to you, as I find, after the exhaustive efforts of the past fortnight, that I am by no means in possession of that voice which I would like to have at my command to address so great and influential a body of gentlemen as I have the pleasure of seeing before me to-night. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the kindly greeting you have given me, and I thank the chairman for the very flattering manner in which he has referred to some of the claims that I may possibly have upon my countrymen. I regret, however, that I must find fault with the chairman at the outset. In enumerating my titles he omitted to refer to that of which I am more proud than all the rest,—the title of "member of parliament" which has just been conferred upon me by the electors of the noble county of Cape Breton. (Loud applause.) The late honourable Mr. Murray,—and I suppose I am not speaking without reason when I say the gentleman who will soon be the Hon. Mr. Murray again (laughter and loud applause), and I take it as a remarkable tribute to myself that before Mr. Murray was able to oppose me he had to cease to be "honourable,"—the late Hon. Mr. Murray issued a card to the electors of the county of Cape Breton showing cause why he should be returned as their representative at the election which has

just closed. And in that card he made the statement that it was a "great emergency." What did he mean by that? I would like him to explain to the editor of the "Morning Chronicle" what the "great emergency" was. The "Morning Chronicle" had announced that a feeble old man was about to assume the leadership of the great Liberal-Conservative party, and the admiring readers of that interesting journal were informed that Sir Charles Tupper was one of the most unsuccessful politicians that the country had ever seen. If that were so, where was the "great emergency?" Was that not just what any sensible opponent of the Liberal-Conservative party would desire, that instead of having a vigorous and successful politician take hold of the leadership of the party, they should have in that capacity a "feeble old man," who had been only remarkable for his want of success in political life? I would like to know what the brilliant editor of that journal would call a "successful" politician. You know that I made my entrance into public life in the year 1855, and when on that occasion the Liberal-Conservative party met the day before the legislature assembled, in a room occupied by one of the members, for the purpose of comparing notes, it was found that the Conservative party were represented in the House of Assembly of the province of Nova Scotia by fifteen members all told. My late revered and lamented friend, the Hon. Mr. Johnston (applause), on that occasion proposed to this corporal's guard, for that was all we were, he proposed to these fifteen gentlemen that I should be entrusted with the re-organization of the Conservative party, and from that hour down to the present, when in parliamentary life, I have had the

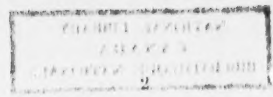
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honour of holding the dignified position of leader of the Liberal-Conservative party of Nova Scotia. (Applause.) What happened under the leadership of this unsuccessful politician? Before that session closed we divided 22 strong in opposition, and when the next session took place we turned out our opponents, and took our seats on the Treasury benches. (Applause.) So much for the history of the years 1855 and 1857. Well, gentlemen, at the first general election thereafter we were defeated. A question was raised, and raised by the "Morning Chronicle." You have only to turn to the pages of that sheet which now professes to be apprehensive that Catholics and Protestants are going to be set by the ears in this country, you have only to turn to the period when we were in power, from 1857 to 1860, to find the "Chronicle" of that day teeming with the vilest denunciations of Roman Catholics, and declaring as a cardinal principle of the Liberal party that no Roman Catholic should be permitted to hold a seat in the government of the country. I am glad to find that after the lapse of forty years, it now deprecates the possibility of such a catastrophe as that which they spent years in endeavouring to inflict on this country. Now, the reason why no such difficulty has presented itself since that time is that although we were defeated by a bare majority in the election of 1859 we had the opportunity of agitating the country from its centre to its circumference, with the result that although we fell in 1859, we did not fall until we had succeeded in planting upon the ramparts of the country the flag under which we had fought of equal rights and equal justice to all. (Loud applause.) Equal rights and equal justice to all without distinction of race or creed. We were so successful in the advocacy of these principles that we have converted even the "Morning Chronicle." What happened? We went into opposition, but we were not idle. We stood by our guns and maintained our principles with the result that the sober second thought of the country in 1863, gave us the most overwhelming majority that was ever known in any country relative to numbers. We had a majority of 25 out of a house of 55 members. I don't think that is an instance of the work of an unsuccessful politician. (Laughter and applause.) We took up great questions. We took up the vital question of the free common schools, and we had the pleasure of passing that law which the Hon. Mr. Fielding, on a recent occasion in the city of Montreal, declared to be the best school law ever enacted in any country in the world. (Applause.) And he only paid a just tribute to that great measure of legislation so vital to the well-being of the country, when he said that under that law Roman Catholics and Protestants had lived together in the most perfect harmony (that school bill for which the country was indebted to the party which I had the honour of

leading), and that bill was a model for legislation which might be followed by any country in the world. (Applause.) We took up another great question, one of the most vital, of great magnitude and importance,—we took up the question of uniting the isolated colonies of which British North America was composed into one great whole. And we accomplished that work. It is true that when we took up that question 't was not without doubt and misgiving on the part of many leading public men. But we succeeded, and after spending ten months in London, in the years 1866 and 1867, when we were carrying through the Imperial Parliament the Act which federated British North America, I returned to find that under an agitation led by the most distinguished and most brilliant Nova Scotian who has ever lived, the late Hon. Joseph Howe, (loud applause) public sentiment had been so excited during the period that I was not here to fight the battle, that when we went to the elections in 1867 I found myself alone out of 19 members who were returned to the Dominion House of Commons from this province,—the only one returned who was not pledged to break up the federation. Gentlemen, I was not dismayed, for I have always felt that if you fall in a good cause you will soon rise again. (Applause.) Animated by that feeling I relied upon my judgment of what confederation would do for this province, as well as for the other provinces, for the vindication of the policy I had pursued. Although I stood alone, I did not relax my exertions. When before the elections I was offered a seat in the first Government of Canada,—and I may say in passing that that was formed—I did not take the seat offered me at that time because true to the policy, true to the principles that have guided me from the period of my first entrance into public life, down to the present time, I held that personal considerations were insignificant compared with the interests of the country. (Applause.) And finding that the interests of the country on that occasion would be better served by my standing aside, I withdrew and declined to accept the portfolio that was offered me, and asked that the late Hon. Sir Edward Kenny (applause), the president of the legislative council, should be appointed in my place. I then took my seat as a private member of the House, and determined to use all the powers I possessed towards securing the accomplishment of what I believe to be the greatest thing that could be accomplished, that was to secure the success of the great measure which was calculated to make out of these isolated provinces a great nation. (Applause.)

Again, after the election, I was offered a seat. The late Hon. Sir Adams Archibald being defeated, and I being the only one returned on the Conservative side, I was

again offered a seat in the Cabinet; but declined it and asked Sir John A. Macdonald to tender that seat to the Hon. Joseph Howe. (Applause.) Mr. Howe had been sent with a large delegation to London to endeavour to secure the appointment of a royal commission to see whether the Act of Confederation could not be broken down. I was sent by the Government of Canada to oppose that effort on the part of Mr. Howe, and to prevent any interference with the Imperial Act as it stood. On that occasion I had an interview with Mr. Howe in the Westminster Palace Hotel. The first call I made in London was on Mr. Howe, and he returned it the following day. We sat down together and discussed the question in all its bearings. He said to me, "Well, Tupper, I cannot say that I am glad to see you here, but since you are here, I suppose we must make the best of it." I said to him, "Mr. Howe, I am going to tell you with the utmost frankness the position that I occupy, and you may give me in return as much as you please. You have been sent here to break down the Act of Confederation, and I expect you to do all you can to accomplish that mission. But you will fail. You will be confronted by an overwhelming majority both in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, who will refuse to interfere with the right of self-government which has long ago been conceded to the provinces of Canada. I then went on to say "when you have failed, as fail you will, the question will then come, 'what next?' and I want to put it to you as a statesman, I want to put it to you as a public man, who has done so much in the past to elevate and advance the interests of the province to which you belong. I want to put it to you as a man who did more to accomplish responsible government than all other public men in Nova Scotia put together. I want to put it to you, when you have used all the efforts in your power to accomplish the mission on which you have been sent here, and have failed, that your next duty will be to take advantage of your position of having the great body of representatives of the people of Nova Scotia at your back, and assume the responsibility of settling the agitation on the basis of better terms for the province of Nova Scotia, but at all events to assume the responsibility of working out this question in such a way as will be just and in the best interests of the province." Mr. Howe met me in the most open spirit, and after discussing the matter in all its bearings, I felt certain that he would adopt a patriotic course. I said to him that I had just refused a seat in the Cabinet, because I wanted to see a man who had the province of Nova Scotia at his back occupy the seat. And I said to him "if you accept that position and assume the responsibility which the more you consider it, the more you will feel it your duty to your country to adopt, instead of finding me an opponent, I am pre-

pared to become your humble follower, and will give you as ardent support as I have ever given you opposition." (Applause.) I knew that devoted as he had been to his province and misled as he had been in regard to confederation, there was an underlying stratum of patriotism which would compel him to adopt the course suggested. I said to him, Mr. Howe, "read that note," and I showed him a note addressed to Sir Sir John A. Macdonald the night before I left Canada, declining and refusing to accept the position of chairman of the Intercolonial Board with a salary of \$4,000 a year, and a seat in Parliament. I said I would tell him my reason for declining that position. I said, "If you refuse to come to your country's aid with the great body of supporters you have at your back, I will take my coat off and agitate the province of Nova Scotia from end to end, and I can do it the better untrammelled by any official position. I pledge myself never to accept a seat in the Cabinet until I am in a position to feel that I have the confidence of the representatives of Nova Scotia." Mr. Howe, animated by the loftiest patriotism, decided to adopt the course I suggested, we came back and entered the Cabinet, with a result that he soon had around him the whole or almost the whole delegation of the representatives of Nova Scotia. And I have no hesitation in saying that it was the proudest moment of my life when I was able to induce 900 of the independent electors of the county of Hants to poll their votes for the man whom they had always previously opposed.

I now come to the next subject. At a very early day in 1870, within two years after the discussion with Mr. Howe, to which I have just referred, I was approached by almost the entire body of the representatives of Nova Scotia, who had been sent to Parliament to oppose me, and was asked to take a seat in the Government, and was assured that if I did so I would have their support. I went into the Cabinet and Mr. Howe and I were united. In 1872 we went to a general election with the result that both Mr. Howe and myself were sustained, and we had returned by the province of Nova Scotia every man pledged to support the Government of which we were members. Both Mr. Howe and I had been for long years, as you know, in an attitude of the bitterest political antagonism. It was a saying of Mr. Howe, whether original or not I do not know—though he was a man that had no occasion to make use of expressions that were not original—that the smaller the pit the fiercer the rats would fight. That was the state of things between us in the olden times; we exchanged many severe blows. But when the Lieutenant-governorship of Nova Scotia became vacant I went to Sir John A. Macdonald and said to him, "I want you to offer that position to Mr. Howe. His health has been severely broken

down and I believe that he will willingly take it; and I am sure that the people of Nova Scotia would be delighted to have him in that position." Before accepting the position Mr. Howe invited every man who represented the province of Nova Scotia to a luncheon at his hospitable board, and the last words he said to those who were present were: "I want you to stand by Tupper as he has stood by me." (Loud applause.)

In 1873 the government of which I was a member fell, and Sir John Macdonald took our resignations to His Excellency the Governor General and we went into Opposition. Sir John A. Macdonald believed at that time that he had fallen never to rise again, and he pressed me in the strongest manner that one man can another to reconstruct the party under my own leadership, pledging himself to give me all the support in his power. I refused to do so, and I will tell you why. I told him that I believed in my heart and conscience that he was never more mistaken in his life; that instead of being a barrier to the return of his party to power before two years had gone over, the most potent influence to induce the party to fight the battle would be the object of restoring him to the position of leader of the Government. I told him that if he refused to lead the party as before, I would refuse to have anything whatever to do with politics. He was reluctantly compelled to assent. As you know, a general election was sprung upon the country before there was an opportunity of having the questions of the day ventilated, and, as you know, the result was that we were almost wiped out of existence. We came back to Parliament, as the Conservative party of Nova Scotia came back in 1855, a mere corporal's guard, utterly broken down and paralyzed. But we were not dismayed. We felt that we were maintaining a good cause, and we took our position on the Opposition benches and went to work. Sir Leonard Tilley had accepted the lieutenant-governorship of New Brunswick. Sir Francis Hincks had been defeated, and the duty devolved upon me of becoming the financial critic of the Administration. The duty was also assigned me of becoming the critic of the railway policy of the Government. I undertook the duties assigned me of becoming the critic of the Minister of Finance and of the Minister of Public Works, and although so able a man as Alexander MacKenzie was Minister of Public Works, I found the task an easy one. I found as a result of the blunders into which the Government fell, that nothing was easier than to convince the country that the Government were all wrong. In attacking the policy of Sir Richard Cartwright, who was the Finance Minister of the Government, and was then, as he is now, the ablest man in the ranks of the Liberals, I propounded to the House of Commons, and through that body to the people of Canada, the policy of pro-

teeting and fostering such industries as Canada was best able to sustain. (Applause.) At the last session but one we succeeded, even in converting Mr. Cartwright, and I may say that able as he is, the most difficult thing in the world is to convince him that any one knows anything but himself. (Laughter.) But we succeeded in shaking even his faith in the policy that he had so far maintained, with the result that at the session of 1878 he made up his mind to take a leaf out of our book, and to a certain extent at least to adopt the policy which we had presented to Parliament. In short, he had made up his mind to make a considerable increase in the tariff. I dare say you have all heard the compliment that was paid me, that having heard of what was about to be done I had prepared a speech to denounce it, and that when the Minister of Finance declared that he would not add a farthing to the tariff, I rose in my place and denounced that. They said that Sir Charles Tupper had a speech all ready to denounce the intended increase in the tariff, and when he found that there was to be no increase he denounced the Government for three hours, because there was no increase. But my friends paid me too great a compliment. I found out that they not only had determined to increase the tariff, but through one of these little birds that occasionally catches things that are going in the air, I learned just what they were going to do. When I heard this, I went to Sir John A. Macdonald, and I confess that I went to him with rather a long face. I wanted the tariff increased, but I wanted that we should have the credit of doing it ourselves. (Hear, hear.) I said to Sir John that we had received a blow, and that our bright hopes were clouded. He asked, what was the matter. I told him that Mr. Cartwright had determined to increase the tariff, and that of course, this would take the wind out of our sails. Sir John asked what was best to be done, and I said there was only one thing to do, that was to stand by our principles, and the moment Mr. Cartwright sat down, he must be congratulated on having been induced by the Opposition to abandon his own policy and to adopt theirs. What happened? Mr. Alfred Jones arrived in Ottawa at this critical period. He had a large following behind him in those days, and he went to Mr. Cartwright and said: "I understand that you are going to increase the tariff. If you do so, if you admit that the Opposition have been right and we wrong, every man from Nova Scotia will walk across the floors of the House and oppose you." Mr. Cartwright, though he was convinced as to what his duty to the country was, felt that he was not prepared to sacrifice his position as Minister of Finance, and so he backed down at the threat of Mr. Jones and his Nova Scotia supporters, and the tariff stood as it was. Well, gentlemen, if you will read my

speech in reply to the Budget speech of Mr. Cartwright on that occasion, you will find the policy of the great Liberal-Conservative party, the National Policy as it exists to-day. You will find the policy that now governs this country enunciated in 1878, in a clear and unmistakable manner, and with all the force that I was able to enunciate it. What more? I went into the county of Cape Breton, and from what is called the International Pier—because there was no place in Cape Breton, then or now, that would hold the vast body of electors that I addressed—I hoisted the flag of the National Policy for Canada (cheers) and I pointed out that not only to the electors of Cape Breton but for the electors of the entire Dominion, the true policy was to foster and protect such industries as were adapted to our country, as a means of raising our country from a position of despondency and depression, such as had rarely afflicted any country in the world. That policy propounded that day gave the key-note to Canada. The voice heard that day from the International Pier, reverberated and was echoed and re-echoed from sea to sea until the result was, that when the people who for a period of five years suffered such misgovernment as has rarely been inflicted upon any people found the panacea offered them, they took it, and the corporal's guard of 1874, came back to power in 1878 with a greater majority than ever before to carry out and sustain that policy. (Applause.)

The "Morning Chronicle" may consider this bad statesmanship and may consider a record like that one that they have a right to brand as unsuccessful, but I tell them this, that if I had been the unsuccessful politician they would have people believe a fortnight ago, if such had been my record, they would not have taken the trouble to send a score of people from Ottawa and Halifax down to Cape Breton with any amount of material in the shape of "human devices" to back them up, for the purpose of securing my defeat. (Applause.) But Mr. Murray in the innocence of his heart gave the true reason why this desperate battle was made. He said, "that it was a great emergency." They said to their friends all over Canada that Sir Charles Tupper was coming back into the Cabinet, that he had been induced to assume the leadership of the Liberal-Conservative party in this country, and that his leadership had resulted in such acclaim from sea to sea, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, that unless something could be done to strike down the prestige of this new movement that was animating the Liberal-Conservative party with new life, through the whole of Canada, the hopes of the Liberal party of seeing the Treasury benches during the next five years must be abandoned. This was the "great emergency," and in view of it my opponents fought with all the energy of despair, believing, and believing justly, that unless they

could defeat me, unless they could strike down the hopes that were animating the party which has made Canada what it is, their game was up, and the party responded freely. I am in a position to state that \$25,000 were sent down to the county of Cape Breton by this party of purity; were sent down by this party which wants to elevate the standard of public morality in this country; \$25,000 were sent down to Mr. Murray's friends to enable them to buy the seat from underneath my feet. And they had some reason for their hopes. My friend, Mr. McKeen (applause), had been elected by a great majority as member for Cape Breton. The fact that he is a man of great wealth and popularity, and that in addition he represents a great company which has expended between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000 in the county of Cape Breton, gave him such a hold upon the county that he was regarded as perfectly invulnerable, and his friends having sent him to Parliament thought that the work of their life was done. The Opposition, on the other hand, always on the alert to secure an advantage, devoted their attention to the electoral lists. The Liberal-Conservative party being lulled into a position of security, and Mr. McKeen being charged with the duty of managing the business of the Dominion Coal Company, and not having time to give personal attention to the revision of the electoral lists, the most gigantic frauds were perpetrated in the county. I confess that if I had known of this earlier I would have thought twice about intrusting myself to the county of Cape Breton. With this advantage, and after they had canvassed the county, the representatives of the party went to their friends or sent an emissary to their friends to say, that, given so much money they would undertake to return Mr. Murray. When I tell you that I went into a county extending over an immense surface; that there was a very short time in which to work, that I was personally unable to visit many of the outlying sections of the county—when I tell you that as much as \$20 was freely given to men to remain at home and refuse to vote—when I tell you that as much as \$100 was given to individuals to use their vote and influence against me, you can understand the strength of the opposition I had to meet. I say it is a proud position for me to occupy, when I am able to stand before you to-night and tell you that the incorruptible patriotism of the electors of the county of Cape Breton (applause) proved to all Canada—proved to all the world—that if the Liberal party wish to accomplish their designs they must find less independent, less patriotic and less honest electors to practice upon. (Applause.) Gentlemen, as in 1878, the key-note of our triumphant march from one end of this country to the other was given from the noble county of Cape Breton, so it will be in 1896. (Applause.) And the same death-knell to the hopes of the Liberal party

that was rung out clear and distinct in 1878 has again been rung out in clear and distinct tones, and is the harbinger of as magnificent a victory in 1886 as that achieved by this great Liberal-Conservative party in 1878. That is what Mr. Murray meant when he spoke of the "great emergency."

Now, Mr. Murray said, and I did not quite understand what he meant, that I had come down to Cape Breton to gratify my ambition. I do not think that the record of my life during the past 40 years will show that I have been ambitious. I have told you that when I was asked to take the leadership of the Liberal-Conservative party, although I was convinced that it would soon be led to victory, I refused. What more? In 1883 I accepted the office of High Commissioner for Canada, because I felt, and Sir John A. Macdonald felt, that the Dominion of Canada had reached a position in which it was of the utmost importance that a man well acquainted with the public affairs of Canada should represent this country at the Court of St. James in London. My predecessor, Sir Alexander Galt, was such a man. He was a man of great ability and of commanding political presence, and had discharged his duties with great ability and with great advantage to the country. But he refused to remain there any longer. He said that the salary of \$14,000, that is, \$10,000 salary and \$4,000 for expenses, was not sufficient to enable him to live in a suitable manner in the city of London, and he refused to remain there because the Government would not increase the salary. Having been brought up in a more economical school than Sir Alexander Galt, I thought that I could make both ends meet on that salary; and I have not heard any person say, not even the strongest opponent who visited London,—that he has failed to receive attention; because I have been always ready to give my attention to every man, no matter whether he was a Liberal or a Conservative. The strongest Liberals in the country will bear testimony to my readiness to go no further than to ask whether a man was a Canadian, and if he was he could command anything in my power, and I am proud to know that to-day I enjoy the confidence and personal regard of the most distinguished members of the Liberal party. (Hear, hear.)

Now, I came back in the year 1886, and I will tell you why this unsuccessful politician came back to Canada. Sir John A. Macdonald did me the honour to write this letter to me on the 26th December, 1886. He did not exactly have the opinions that the "Chronicle" seems to have imbibed that I was a political failure. He says:

On the Train, 20th December, 1886.
My Dear Tupper,—I am on my way back to Ottawa after a successful tour in western Ontario. We have made a very good impression and I think will hold our own in the province. We have, however, lost nearly the whole Catholic vote by the course of the "Mail," and this course has

had a prejudicial effect, not only in Ontario, but throughout the Dominion, and has therefore introduced a great element of uncertainty in a good many constituencies.

In Nova Scotia the outlook is bad, and the only hope of our holding our own there is your immediate return and vigorous action. It may be necessary that you should, even if only for a little time, return to the Cabinet. McLelan, I know, would easily make way for you. Now, the responsibility on you is very great, for should any disaster arise, because of your not coming out, the whole blame will be thrown upon you.

I see that Anglin is now starring it in Nova Scotia. I send you an extract from a condensed report of his remarks, which appeared in the Montreal "Gazette." This is a taking programme for the maritime provinces, and has to be met, and no one can do it but yourself. But enough of Dominion politics.

I cannot, in conclusion, too strongly press upon you the absolute necessity of your coming out at once, and do not like to contemplate the evil consequence of your declining to do so.

I shall cable you the time for holding our election the moment it is settled.

Believe me, yours faithfully,

(Signed) JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, G.C.M.G.

That, gentlemen, is the reason why I resigned the office of High Commissioner of Canada, at that time, and came back to place my services at the disposal of the great leader of the Liberal-Conservative party and I dare say you know that our joint efforts in this country were not unsuccessful. Again we had the proud satisfaction of seeing the banner of the Liberal-Conservative party borne triumphantly to victory, as I trust, at no distant day it will again. (Applause.) Mr. Murray, no doubt, has been studying that very unreliable organ of his party, the "Morning Chronicle," and has come to the conclusion that I would sacrifice anything to satisfy my wild ambition. I am here to say to you to-night, for we are a family party and may exchange confidences, that it was never my wish at any hour of my life to be Prime Minister of Canada. (A voice, We want you there, Sir Charles.) (Applause.) Gentlemen, I will tell you why. I felt that no man knew the late Sir John A. Macdonald better than I did, and no one recognized more strongly or more unquestionably than I did that no man in the wide Dominion of Canada could compare with him for that position. I felt that so long as his life and energy enabled him to fill that position, a position so high and so great that it might be coveted by any statesman in the world, it would be treason to Canada for any one to think of taking the helm from one who had shown such wonderful ability to steer the ship of state as he had. Sir John A. Macdonald died in 1891, after a very desperate electoral struggle which we had made in this country to maintain the ascendancy of Liberal-Conservative principles. I do not hesitate to say that he was animated, as I was, by the conviction that existence of British institutions was at stake, and by the

conviction that unless the standard of the Liberal-Conservative party could be maintained in this country, the policy of the party then in opposition was one that would lead at no distant day to the loss of the glorious institutions that we have the honour to possess. Gentlemen, what if the evidence that we were right? We have the evidence of one of the most brilliant, most independent, and most distinguished men that the Liberal party of Canada has ever had in its ranks, the Hon. Edward Blake, who, the day after the election, published a letter under his own hand stating that the reason he had abandoned his party was that he was not prepared to fight under false colours, and that he believed that the policy propounded by the Liberal party on that occasion would lead to annexation to the United States of America. (Hear, hear.) Sir John A. Macdonald was worn out by that great struggle, and I know that he was worn out by deep anxiety, for I travelled with him, and spared him all I could. I dare say you know that I came to Halifax at that time, and had the honour of addressing a great public meeting in this city. Just before I went on the platform I received a message from Sir John A. Macdonald begging me to come and assist him in Ontario as soon as I could. I went at once, for I knew that in the hands of the late lamented Sir John Thompson—(applause)—aided by the active efforts of my son—(renewed applause)—and aided by the gentlemen who then and now have the honour of representing the county of Halifax, Nova Scotia was safe. I went then to aid my revered friend Sir John Macdonald to the utmost of my power, but I found that the struggle and the momentous issues that were at stake were wearing upon him and striking him down to an extent that I witnessed with the utmost dismay. After the election I went back to London and was sent by the Government of Canada to represent it at the great postal conference at Vienna. I am again in a position to give you evidence that the position of Prime Minister of Canada was not the object of my ambition. I hold in my hand a copy of a letter which I addressed to my son on the occasion of the death of Sir John A. Macdonald. It is in the handwriting of Mr. Just, a gentleman in my department who was acting as my secretary in Vienna. I will hand it to Mr. Stairs to read it to you and then you can judge whether I was anxious to be Prime Minister of Canada:

Vienna, 4th June, 1891.

My Dear Son,—I, as you know, have always felt the deepest personal attachment for our great leader, Sir John A. Macdonald, but I myself did not know how much I loved him until on my arrival here last Saturday, I learned that he was struck down by illness. The news was then reassuring, and I attended the dinner at the Hofburg palace with the Emperor and King at 4

o'clock, but refused the invitation of the minister for the theatre that evening, and all invitations since. It now seems that there is no hope; how mysterious are the ways of Providence; never in his long and useful life have his invaluable services been so important to Canada and to the Empire, and God alone knows what the consequence to both may be. I received your telegram saying that there was a disposition in certain quarters that Sir John Thompson should succeed him, with great satisfaction and a strong sense of personal relief. You know I told you long ago, and repeated to you when last in Ottawa, that nothing could induce me to accept the position, in case the premiership became vacant. I told you that Sir John looked up wearily from his papers and said to me: "I wish to God you were in my place," and that I answered, "Thank God I am not." He afterwards, well knowing my determination, said he thought Thompson, as matters now stood, was the only available man. Of course he had in view the charges that were made against Langvelin and still pending. Had it been otherwise, and I had been in Parliament, I would have given him my support as you well know.

When this terrible blow came, I naturally dreaded that my old colleagues, and the party for whom I have done so much, might unite in asking me to take the leadership, and I felt that in that case, a serious responsibility would rest upon me. Believing as I do, that compliance would have involved a material shortening of the few years at the most remaining to me, you can imagine, my dear son, the relief with which I learned that I was absolved from any such responsibility and able to assure your dear mother, that all danger was past. Your course, my dear son, is to think only of your duty to Canada, and that is to give your hearty support to whatever can combine the members of the party in the greatest degree. I need not tell you how glad I will be if our mutual friend, Thompson, should be the man. His great ability, high legal attainments, forensic powers, and above all his personal character, all render his choice one of which our party and country should be proud.

It was a strange coincidence, that about 11 o'clock on Wednesday night, the 27th ult., I concluded my speech in response to a toast, at a banquet given to myself by a large number of peers and members of the House of Commons of both parties, by an eulogium on Sir John A. Macdonald, when by a slip of the tongue I used the words, "and now at the close of his long and useful life," which I immediately corrected myself by expressing the hope that he would be spared many years to serve his country as he had done in the past. While this prayer, for such it was, was enthusiastically cheered by the lord mayor, three ex-secretaries of state of the colonies, of both parties, and many members of the House of Commons, both Liberal and Conservative, my dear friend appears to have been struck by the fatal shaft, and our prayer denied. We can only bow with submission, knowing that the blow came from the One who doeth all things well. Let us endeavour to work as untriflingly, and as unselfishly, for the progress and prosperity of our country as Sir John has done, and come what may, we will be consoled, as he has been, by the conviction that we have done our duty.

It is a source of great satisfaction to me in this sad hour to feel that through good and evil report, I have stood at his side, and in sunshine and in storm, have done all in my power to sustain and aid him in the great work to which

he has, since first we met, devoted so successfully all his great powers. He has left a bright example for us to follow, let us endeavour to imitate him as far as we can, and we will deserve well of our country.

Your loving father,
(Signed) CHARLES TUPPER.

Gentlemen, I think I need not say more to convince you that I have not been unduly anxious to fill the high and distinguished position of Prime Minister of Canada.

But I now come to the present stage. When I came out to Canada on the present occasion I came in response to an urgent invitation or request from the Premier of Canada, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who requested me to come for the purpose of aiding the Government in carrying on to completion the great work in which the Government and myself have been arduously engaged for some time past, the undertaking of securing a fast Atlantic steam service between the United Kingdom and Canada. I arrived in this country, and just after my arrival some very unpleasant results happened at one or two elections, and a good deal of consternation was spread over the country. I need not say that by-elections are often significant, but if the people would take the trouble to look at the by-elections which have taken place in Canada since the last election, they would feel that there is small ground for uneasiness. But the fact was that there was a good deal of interest excited, and I was approached by a large number of the most leading and influential gentlemen to be found perhaps in any part of Canada, with the hope that I would be induced to come back to the House of Commons, and take the leadership of the Liberal-Conservative party there. I told those gentlemen at once that I would not even discuss the question with them: that, important as the matter might be, I had come to Canada on the invitation of Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and would not raise a finger or be concerned in anything without his entire concurrence. They went to Sir Mackenzie Bowell and told him what I had said, and he was good enough to send for me to discuss with him fully and frankly the position of the Liberal-Conservative party in this country. I may as well say, while I am referring to this, that Sir Mackenzie Bowell was one of the Liberal-Conservative members in the House of Commons at the first election after confederation. We sat side by side during the time that the Liberal-Conservative party was in power, and we sat there side by side when the Liberal-Conservative party was reduced by the elections of 1874 to a mere corporal's guard. At all times we stood shoulder to shoulder battling for what we believed to be the best interests of the country. We went into the Government together in 1878, when by the verdict of the overwhelming mass of the people of the country the Liberal-Conservative party, with Sir John A. Macdonald at its head, was brought triumphantly back to

power. From the first hour that I met the Premier of Canada down to the present moment not a word has passed between us but the most cordial and fraternal friendship, and I say to-day that there is no man who knows Sir Mackenzie Bowell better than I do, or who regards him more thoroughly as the embodiment of honesty and integrity than I do. I say that from the first hour he entered public life, to this, he has in the most unstinted manner done his best to exercise all his powers in the way he has felt to be for the best interests of the country. In view of the rumours recently set afloat, I feel bound to make this statement in the presence of the Liberal-Conservative party before me, and my words will be borne on the wings of the telegraph to every portion of Canada. I say that notwithstanding an unhappy difference of opinion, owing to a misunderstanding, arose for a few days among members of the Government, when I left Ottawa there was the most happy and cordial reunion of every member of the Government with Sir Mackenzie Bowell and myself. Sir Mackenzie Bowell not only invited me to come back and go into the Government of the country, but he pressed upon my son that he also should come back, and that we both should be members of the Cabinet. He expressed to me the highest affection for my son, and when I told him that my son had, from the first moment that any question of my return was raised, stated that nothing would induce him to remain in the Cabinet in such a case, because although that kind of thing may be done in England, where politics are carried on upon a broader basis, it would not be practicable in Canada, for reasons that are obvious. Every question that comes up before the Cabinet in Canada is decided by a vote of the members of the Cabinet, and you can readily see that under these circumstances if persons in such close relationship voted on the same side, it might be supposed that the vote was not of a purely independent character. (Voice—We want your son in, Sir Charles.) Well, I am not surprised that you do. Although I am a father, and therefore perhaps not a very impartial judge, I am not surprised that you do. I can only say that in my judgment, at an early day, it will probably be the opinion of Canada, that the father should disappear and the son reappear. (Cries of "No, no.") Sir Mackenzie said at once, "If your son will not come into the Cabinet with you, why should he not take the position of High Commissioner at London? Every one knows that he received tributes of the greatest admiration, not only from Lord Rosebery's Government, but from Lord Salisbury's Government in the discharge of his duty, as agent for Her Majesty's Government at the International Arbitration at Paris: in connection with the Behring Sea question. Why, therefore, should he not take your position in London?" I said, in reply, that my son's ambition was to

serve his country in the House of Commons in Canada, and while he would be happy to stand there as an independent member of the House, no salary or position would tempt him for a moment to leave the House of Commons. It is only my duty to Sir Mackenzie Bowell and myself that I should make that statement to-night, and I leave you to imagine whether, under those circumstances, I could have any feeling other than that of the highest regard toward a gentleman who had expressed such kindness and good feeling both toward my son and myself.

Now one statement made by my opponents I confess there is some truth in. They say that "Tupper has become a feeble old man" (cries of "No, no"), and they say that you want vigour and physical ability as well as experience. No person can be more conscious of the fact than I of the responsibilities that rest upon the leader of a great party like the Liberal-Conservative party, and at my time of life I feel them to be overwhelming. (Cries of "You are the man.") In this matter, however, I have reluctantly yielded my own judgment to that of others. I have done more, I have reluctantly yielded my own desire to retire into private life, and spend the few remaining years that may be allotted to me in a more quiet and restful position. But I have acted in this matter as I have acted from the first hour that I entered public life. I have acted under a deep sense of my responsibility to the great party that has made Canada what it is today. I say that trusted, I say that supported and sustained as I have been by that great party, I should feel it an act of treason to set up my own inclination against what I believe to be the overwhelming opinion of the Liberal-Conservative party.

Now, gentlemen, I have been fighting the first battle, and that in the island of Cape Breton, but it was perfect child's play. (Great laughter and applause.) What I say is perfectly true. It is true that it was an inclement season of the year, and that I have not recently been accustomed to exposure at quite so low a temperature, but I repeat that it was child's play. Why? It was a large county, and we were opposed by eloquent and brilliant men from all parts of Canada; we were opposed by gentlemen who were fortified with an abundant supply of what has not been inaptly termed "human devices." (Laughter.) They made a "big push" and "came down handsomely." But why was it child's play? Gentlemen, I will tell you; it was child's play because we had a policy that the people could understand. When we stood before the intelligent electors of the county of Cape Breton, it was not to tell them what we would do if we had the opportunity. We had had the opportunity, and it was only necessary to point to the brilliant record in the past, of the Government, sustained by the great Liberal-Conservative party of this country. We were

able to point to the face of the country and show that we had not held power in vain, and that the power in our hands had been used in such a way as to promote the progress and prosperity of the country. We had successfully linked together the various portions of this great half-continent, the greatest portion of the continent of North America. Not only had we succeeded in uniting it in one powerful federation, but we showed that we had carried out the policy of confederation until it reached from the island of Prince Edward Island, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to Vancouver, on the shores of the Pacific.

When I went to Washington with Mr. Chamberlain in 1887-88 to negotiate the treaty with the Government of the United States, I met there the distinguished gentleman Mr. Bayard, who now represents the United States as their ambassador in London. He said to me, "the federation of British North America and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway have brought us face to face with a nation." Instead of the weak, disunited and sometimes antagonistic provinces, of which British America was formerly composed, a time had come when they saw one government, extending from sea to sea, and found that we had not only formed a paper confederation, but that we had made the federation a reality by the construction of the iron band that extends all the way across the country, and binds together the continent from Cape Breton to Vancouver. They found themselves not only face to face with a nation, but they found themselves face to face with a nation possessed of all those enormous natural resources with which Providence has generously endowed this northern part of the continent. They found themselves face to face with a country in a position to pass on from stage to stage until it becomes as such an eminent authority as Professor Giffkin declared, "not only equal to some of the continental states of Europe, but at no distant day to become one of the most powerful and progressive nations of the world." We are able, then, to tell the people of Cape Breton, not only what we would do if they gave us the power, but we were able to show them what we had done and exhibit that as an earnest of what we would do in the future. We pointed not only to what had been actually accomplished, but we pointed to pending measures of the utmost importance to the people of Canada, as showing what will be done at no distant day to make this great country even greater than it is.

What did our opponents point to? You may be sure that they did not point to the period when they were in power, for they knew that their only hope of getting back to power was to lull the people to sleep and make them forget that time, if they still had any recollection of it. They had been in power for a period of five years, but all

the recollection that the people had of it was that it was a period of five lean years. They only remembered it as a period of five years during which they were eating up the resources that had been accumulated during the previous five years of Liberal-Conservative rule. I dare say you have read the story of Sir Walter Scott's coachman, who, after he was dismissed from his master's service, set up as a medical man. Sir Walter Scott discharged the man for taking too much drink. Some time afterwards, when he was travelling in England, somewhere across the border, he came across this old coachman, and the following conversation ensued: Said Sir Walter: "Donald, what are you about?" Donald replied, "I am a doctor now." "A doctor," said Sir Walter, "What do you mean? You don't know anything about medicine. What do you do?" "Well," replied Donald, "I just confine myself to two simples, calumny and laudanum." There is the Liberal policy, and simple enough it is. (Laughter.) "Well," said Sir Walter Scott, "but what becomes of the patients?" "Well," said Donald, "whiles they lives and whiles they dies, but it will take a long time to make up for Flodden." Of the "simples," made use of by the Liberal party, the "calumny" is intended to raise false issues, and to divert mens' minds and attention from the frightful period of misrule under their mis-government. If that is what the calumny is for, what is the laudanum for? It is to give electors sufficient doses to put them to sleep, so that it will be out of their power to recollect, the state to which all Canada was reduced under their misrule.

Gentlemen, if you want to know what the National Policy has done for Canada, you have only to read the brilliant, the able, the unsurpassed Budget speeches, of the Hon. George E. Foster, and you will find what has been done. An eminent public man in the United States, not long since, delivered an address, in which he deplored the financial condition of the United States, as compared with the splendid condition of the Dominion of Canada. He said that during the last few years there had been a financial cyclone in the United States, as the result of which 600 banks had gone down, the industries of the country had been paralyzed and discontent and distress had taken the place of progress and prosperity. He told his hearers to look across the border and mark the difference. The people of this country might have been a little affected by the depression existing among 65,000,000 of their neighbours, separated from them only by an invisible line, but he asked his hearers to contrast the manner in which the people of Canada passed through this period of depression with the experience of the people of the United States, and he told them that, if they wanted to see the contrast, they had

only to look north of the boundary line and see the progress and prosperity of Canada. There is evidence of what the National Policy has accomplished. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was a work never before paralleled by five millions of people in any part of the globe, and a work that caused the position of Canada to be duly appreciated in the great republic to the south of us. Gentlemen, when the United States succeeded in pushing a railway from Omaha to San Francisco they attracted the admiration of the civilized world. Every paper in England, and every paper on the continent of Europe, hailed that magnificent achievement of the United States as a matter worthy of the highest admiration, yet at the time the United States built that road, they had a population of 40,000,000, or eight times the population of Canada. Still, with all that advantage of population in their favour, they were unable to accomplish an equally great work, in the same time in which it was accomplished by the Dominion of Canada. I give that to the people of this country as the best evidence of what we have accomplished by the National Policy. Under free trade conditions the industries of the country were paralyzed. Under the regime of our predecessors everything was suspended. The Government could not wring out of the people of Canada money enough by any taxation that they could levy, to pay the ordinary expenses of government. They were rolling up a debt created out of deficits, and the progress of the country was stayed. What has happened since? The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway excited the admiration of the civilized world, and made people, who did not know before what the term Canada meant, appreciate the fact that a new power was springing up in the northern part of this continent. I dare say you know that we have been denounced by our opponents, for corruptly maintaining ourselves in power by the use of railway subsidies. All I can say is that we have something to show for it, and that, since the National Policy was introduced, ten thousand miles of railway have been constructed in this country. I had the honour of being appointed by the Government of Canada to represent it at the great International Railway Congress which has just taken place in London, and I had the opportunity of putting before that congress what Canada had achieved in the way of railway progress. How do you suppose that discussion came up? It came up because England has at last adopted the policy of giving government assistance to districts not served by railways in the same way that we have done in Canada. (Loud applause.)

Gentlemen, I now come to an event, the most striking of any that has ever occurred in any colonial possessions of the Crown. I refer to the great conference held in the city of Ottawa at which South Africa, Aus-

tralia, New Zealand, Canada and the Imperial Government were all represented. That conference took up the question of how the colonies could be drawn closer together; and, among other things, they adopted the policy of preferential trade. I dare say you know that the Government of Canada introduced a resolution that, when the Imperial Government received colonial products on more favourable terms than the products of foreign countries Canada would make a corresponding reduction in favour of goods of British manufacture coming into this country. The "Times" newspaper took the policy up and said that men were not made for free trade, but free trade made for men, and that if the other colonies adopted that policy it might well demand careful consideration. The conference at Ottawa in which South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada were brought together on a common platform to discuss the best means of increasing the trade of the Empire, and the best means of drawing the colonies closer together, placed upon record, that this was a sound and a good policy and one that should be adopted. I am told that this question is one that is not a party question. I dare say you know that I was invited to deliver an address before the commercial men of the city of Montreal, and on that occasion I had the pleasure of addressing an audience of a thousand men, including many of the very first commercial men, financiers, bankers and shipowners of this country. And I may say that I never addressed a more enthusiastic commercial meeting in all my life. When I was invited to deliver that address I was not a member of the Government—I was the High Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada in London—and the Montreal "Herald," and some of those Liberals who cannot see anything except through political spectacles, took exception to my delivering that address and endeavoured to get a petition signed to induce the board of trade to withdraw the invitation. But, when they had hawked the petition all through the city, and only succeeded in obtaining about five names to it, they concluded to abandon their opposition. (Laughter.) The Toronto "Globe" when it found that I was going to deliver this address, said that preferential trade was all very well,—that everybody in this country was in favour of preferential trade; but that the city of Montreal was not the place to advocate it. To leave no doubt in your minds as to the position of that great organ of the Liberal party on this question, I will read you what they said. It said:

We have it in our power to largely increase the exchange between the two countries, but we have our doubts whether Sir Charles will choose that obvious way. He would, of course, prefer that the change would be brought about by Britain's granting preferential treatment in her markets to her colonies. That is a policy for

which both political parties in Canada would hold up their hands. But it is a question that cannot become a practical issue in Canadian politics, for it must be fought out not at the polls in Canada, but at the polls in England.

They are perfectly right in that. Why did I go to Montreal to deliver that address? I will tell you. It was because I knew that the Chamber of Commerce, of the city of London, had sent out an invitation to the Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade in Canada, to send representatives to a congress of the chambers of commerce of the Empire, to be held in London in June next. A similar congress was held in London in 1893, and I had the pleasure of taking an active part on that occasion, and they did me the honour of appointing me one of the vice-presidents of the congress which is about to be held. The Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain—(loud and long-continued applause)—no statesman has ever deserved that cheer better than he, for never has the high office of Secretary of State for the Colonies been filled by a man of more striking character—who recognizes that the greatest field for the development of British interests is for Great Britain, by every means in her power, to foster and protect the interests of the colonies. Mr. Chamberlain has accepted the position of honorary president. Now, what is the first article on the programme of this congress of chambers of commerce? It is how best to promote trade between the mother country and her colonies. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I have said that this question engaged the attention of the last congress, and although it was, a new question it occupied two solid days, or more than four times that was given to any other question. My object in addressing the chamber of commerce of Montreal was to induce them to send out to every part of Canada an urgent appeal to the boards of trade and chambers of commerce, of whatever political proclivities the membership might be, to send able men to represent the interests of this Canada of ours at the conference. If that appeal is responded to, as I believe it will be, that congress will not separate until it has placed on record its opinion that the best means of increasing intercourse between the different outlying portions of the Empire is by the adoption of the policy of preferential trade. (Loud applause.) At this late hour I feel that I must draw to a close. (Cries of, no, no.) When I look at my watch I am ashamed to see what time it is, but I will give you an illustration of what preferential trade is. If England will remove the only obstruction that stands in the way by securing a modification of the German and Belgian treaties, and will impose a duty on foreign products that come into competition with ours, we will be prepared to give the mother country a corresponding advantage in our market. (Hear, hear.) Some people may say "will not that be protection, and are not English statesmen sworn to

the worship of free trade as of a fetish? " I say no: the question of protection does not arise. Lord Salisbury has made the declaration that whatever may be the arguments for or against preferential trade, it is not a thing that can be called protection. And why? Protection is the building up by one nation of a tariff against the products of another nation, whereas preferential trade is simply the imposing of, say, a ten per cent duty on the products of the United States, France, Germany and other countries that build up high tariffs against English goods, while England receives everything from them free. If such a duty were imposed it would pay the whole cost of the army and navy of England, and would make foreign countries provide the means, as the United States makes foreign countries provide the means, and as Germany and France and Russia do, for paying the cost of the protection and development of her commerce. So distinguished a man as Mr. Goschen, formerly chancellor of the exchequer, and at present first lord of the admiralty, a gentleman who is admitted to be one of the first commercial authorities in the world, has declared that no nation whatever would have the slightest ground for finding fault if England did, in a slight degree, what every other country does in a great degree. What could Spain say? What could Holland say? What could any of those countries say that admit the products of their own colonies upon different terms from the terms upon which they admit the products of other countries? They could only admit that they were at last compelled to take a homeopathic dose of the same medicine that they have been themselves dealing out by the tablespoonful to other countries. (Applause.)

You have no doubt seen some speculation as to what caused the change of public opinion that swept the Liberal party out of power in England, and brought the Salisbury government in by such a large majority. I have listened to the explanations given by public men of all parties to account for this change, and I have made it my business during the past twelve years to study these questions thoroughly in the heart of the Empire itself; and I am in a position to tell you, on the authority of one of the most eminent and distinguished men in the House of Commons, that in this sweeping out of the Liberal party by the tide of public opinion, one of the most potent influences was the conviction that has seized upon the minds of the industrial classes, the people who are engaged in agriculture and manufacturing, that they are not getting fair play at the hands of foreign countries, and that the Conservative party will be more likely to protect the trade of the country than any other. (Applause.)

I do not intend and I must not weary your patience by prolonging these remarks, (cries of, "go on, go on.") but I will say this,

I hold in my hand a copy of the Saturday "Review," one of the most able and one of the most independent journals of Great Britain, and what does it say on the subject? It says, in the light of recent events, that when it was found that England occupied a position in Europe of almost complete isolation, when she was threatened by the great republic of the United States on the one hand, and by Germany on the other, the conclusion was come to that if England was to retain her position and prestige in the world, if she was to remain the mightiest power in the world, there was only one way to do it, and that was by the cultivation and expansion of her great colonial possessions, and by the building up in the northern half of the continent of America, by the building up in the great continent of Australasia, and by the building up in South Africa of great nations, that in the hour of need will stand at her back and maintain her power and prestige in the world in spite of any combination of foreign powers. (Loud and prolonged applause.) I do not hesitate to say that I regard it as a solemn duty, incumbent upon every Canadian, to cultivate the most friendly and the best relations with the great republic to the south of us, but we have been taught an important lesson, and that is that if we are to be true to ourselves and our children, if we are to be true to the glorious British institutions that we now possess, if we are to be true to those institutions that give security to life, liberty and property as no other institutions in the world do, if we are to be true to that heritage, and if we are to maintain that position we must stand shoulder to shoulder in maintaining those institutions and promote by every means in our power whatever will serve to draw us closer to each other and to the mother country to which we owe so much. (Loud applause.)

In conclusion, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this magnificent reception. On an occasion of this kind I feel that any personal sacrifice that a man can make, whether of health or of life itself, is compensated by the evidence that I see around me that the able and intelligent public sentiment of the country is prepared to stand by men who are willing to maintain principles that are so important to us all. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, with my usual frankness, I must say that there is one feature of this evening's entertainment that I do not altogether agree with. It is perhaps very ungrateful and ungenerous on my part to say so, but I would not have put up that motto that I see there, "Not looking to Washington." I want the United States to feel, and I want the United Kingdom alike to feel that there is no disloyalty in this country. I want the world to know, and I believe it myself, and I would be unfaithful to you and Canada if I did not say that the people of Canada without regard to

party are loyal to the heart's core. (Applause.) I do not believe that there is one public man in Canada, I do not believe there is one intelligent man in this whole country who "looks to Washington." (A voice, "Longley.") I have a word to say even for Mr. Longley. I am afraid that some of you have not read his latest contribution to this subject. If you had done so you would have seen that whatever sentiments of that kind Mr. Longley may have held at one time, he has now changed them. I have read with pride and pleasure in a London paper one of the most loyal outbursts from his pen that has come from any public man, and I would not for a moment challenge Mr. Longley's sincerity. There is always a "locus penitentiae" for every man, and though foolish speeches may have been made by a public man at a time when he had not the amount of experience that a public man ought to have, I believe that the public men of this country one and all, without even the exception named, have ceased to "look to Washington," and are looking to the great heart of the empire. (Applause.) I have witnessed with pride and with pleasure, and I would be doing myself and you an injustice if I omitted to mention it, that in the most able and independent of the liberal journals of this country there has not been a discordant note and no man has been found who in the hour of England's trial has not been ready to do and die in standing by her. (Loud applause.)

Gentlemen, I have now trespassed much too long upon your kindness. (Cries of "no, no.") I don't know whether any of you remember what occurred in the legislative council of this province on one occasion. It was an occasion when a gentleman who was rather long winded and could speak for hours on a very trifling subject, addressed the council at great length on a subject of no consequence. Sir Brenton Halliburton was president of the council at the time. The gentleman in question concluded a two hour's speech on a small subject by saying that it was painful to him to have detained the House so long; whereupon the president of the council said that if it was any consolation to the hon. gentleman to know it, he had not been a solitary sufferer. I feel to-night, with my voice lost between Montreal and the Bras d'Or lakes, and strained by speaking day after day and night after night, that it is as painful for me to address you as it must be for you to listen. (Cries of "no, no.") I must therefore conclude. (A voice, "What about Northumberland?") Who does not know that from one end of Canada to the other the same note of joy that rang through the country at the verdict, the magnificent majority of 820 given by the noble electorate of Cape Breton, has been caught up and echoed in Northumberland. The Hon. Michael Adams, lately elevated to the Sen-

ate, telegraphed his congratulations upon the noble victory we had won in Cape Breton, and said, "Northumberland will follow your brilliant example." Gentlemen, this will cease to be a surprise soon. It will not be in Cape Breton and Northumberland alone, but throughout every part of the Dominion you will hear the same note of triumph as that sounded over the result of the victory achieved by the Liberal-Conservative party in Cape Breton for the purpose of maintaining power in the hands of the men who have made Canada what it is, and who, if intrusted with a continuation of power, will feel themselves nerved to go forward in the same direction until they have accomplished greater triumphs than we have yet attained.

I need not tell you that in 1893 I represented Canada at the International Conference in the city of Paris, where twenty-five powers were represented, and where I had the honour, as the representative of Canada, of sitting alongside the representative of the German empire, clothed with the same power and authority that the representative of that empire had. That was the first occasion on which a representative of Canada ever took part in that prominent and independent manner in such a gathering and signed the conclusions arrived at. Since that time the mother country conceded to Canada the right to negotiate her own treaties, and we have become practically a nation. While we have been given as independent control of our own government and as complete management of our own country as if we stood alone in the world, England knows that she is warranted in giving this power and influence to Canada, for whatever party may be in power here she can rely upon the Dominion to stand at her back and aid her in her time of need. Canada, as you know, is already larger than the republic to the south of us, but we are not satisfied yet, and I trust that at no distant day we will round off the confederation by bringing in the island of Newfoundland. And, gentlemen, hostile as the people of Newfoundland have been to such a consummation, before five years have elapsed they will find, as the people of Nova Scotia found, that they were deceived when they listened to the people who take a different view, and the result will show that the happiness and prosperity of that island will be advanced as the progress and prosperity of every part of Canada has been. The advantage to the people of Newfoundland will be great and the advantage to us of making that island a part of the Dominion will be great. Take the question of defence. What is it to have an island that dominates the entrance to the St. Lawrence not an integral part of the Dominion? The importance of this question has been enormously advanced by what England has been brought face to face within the past few months, and we

may look to England for aid in any effort to bring that island within our borders and make it a part of our own country.

I must again apologize. It is difficult, standing face to face with so many intelligent men, representing the Liberal-Conservative party of Nova Scotia from end to

end, to say "good night," but, in justice to you and to myself, I must now sit down, entertaining the hope that at no distant day I may again have the pleasure of meeting the gentlemen I have met here to-night. (Loud and prolonged cheers, and the whole audience rising to their feet.)

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